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Historical Analysis of Population Reactions to Stimuli - A Case Study of the Solomon Islands

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a baseline investigation for determining population reactions to stimuli in a historical context. Historical data analysis and qualitative data analysis techniques are applied to the last 500 years of events in the Solomon Islands. Links and trends between events and stimuli are produced giving a preliminary dataset for any future trends impact analysis. In addition some general population reactions for this country are established and a brief progressive regional comparison provided.

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Executive Summary

Non-combatant populations, particularly in urban environments, can impact on fighting or peacekeeping elements in military conflicts. As such, understanding the stimuli¹ which have in the past caused (and hence might cause) the population to act in a particular way, resulting in some event, can give insights into how they might react in the future provided there are sufficient historical trends. These events may range from insurgences² through assisting/supporting one side in a conflict to popular support of a group or ideal.

This report is the fourth in a series of historical analyses of stimuli and effects (as events) in regional populations. The first three studies focussed on East Timor, Aceh, and Papua New Guinea and Papua, and helped to develop the methodology and basic framework for analysis. Additionally, a preliminary comparison between the four countries studied to date in this region was conducted. The intent of these studies is to identify probable generic causes of the population reactions over a large time period and determine if there are trends or patterns of behaviour over that period. They are aimed at providing contextual information and guidance on socio-cultural issues for planners in multi agency operations in the region.

In this work, key drivers, trends and stimuli have been identified for the Solomon Islands; the study was undertaken prior to the events of 2006. Additionally, lessons learned have been discussed and, interestingly, there is a societal memory, as found in Aceh and East Timor, apparent, although it appears to be tied closely with traditional beliefs and culture. From the progressive regional analysis to date, some simple conclusions are drawn.

¹ Stimuli are represented as causes and triggers throughout the report.

² Insurgences are defined as riots, rebellions or revolts by the Macquarie Dictionary 3rd Edition.

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Glossary

BSIP	British Solomon Islands Protectorate
GRA	Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army
IFF	Isatambu Freedom Fighters
IFM	Isatambu Freedom Movement
IPMT	International Peace Monitoring Team
MEF	Malaita Eagle Force
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands
SI	Solomon Islands
TPA	Townsville Peace Agreement
US	United States
WWII	World War II

1. Introduction

As described in earlier reports [1-3], non-combatant populations, particularly in urban environments, can impact on fighting or peacekeeping elements in military conflicts. As such, understanding the **stimuli**¹ which have in the past caused (and hence might **cause**) the population to act in a particular way, resulting in some **event**, can give insights into how they might react in the future, provided there are sufficient historical trends. These events may range from insurgences² through assisting/supporting one side in a conflict to popular support of a group or ideal.

This report is the fourth in a series of historical analyses of stimuli and effects (as events) in regional populations. Previous studies focussed on East Timor [1], Aceh [2], and Papua New Guinea and Papua [3], as well as developing the methodology and basic framework for analysis. This report concentrates on the Solomon Islands (SI)³. The intent of these studies is to identify probable generic causes of the population reactions over a large time period and determine if there are trends or patterns of behaviour over that period.

The Solomon Islands have been studied in order to collate and build data on the South East Asia/South West Pacific region as an area of interest identified by the government White Paper on Defence in 2000 and National Security Update in 2003 [4, 5]. The islands are ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse with some similar historical experiences to the other countries studied thus far. A timeline of events for the Solomon Islands is shown in Appendix A. This study provides valuable insights into the possible reactions of the population to stimuli, and the resulting qualitative data could be used in war games or training exercises where the input of the reaction of an urban population is from a real environment. Additionally, these studies provide baseline data for futures studies, regional assessments and comparisons. They aim to provide contextual information and guidance on socio-cultural issues for planners in multi-agency operations in the region.

2. Methodology

The previous reports [1-3] describe the approach taken in detail, and as this study uses the same methodology only a brief description is given here.

Historical events occur only once and hence the data do not support statistical analysis to identify an average result. To obtain an 'expected' value in this type of analysis we can only compare similar events and note trends in the stimuli – specifically as causes and triggers for the events. However, the data are real and defensible, as the events have actually occurred for

¹ Stimuli are represented as causes and triggers throughout the report.

² Insurgences are defined as riots, rebellions or revolts by the Macquarie Dictionary 3rd Edition.

³ This study was undertaken before the events of 2004/2006 and an update has been provided later in the report.

the given stimuli. This study cannot validate anticipated reactions, but provides a solid foundation for the arguments presented and future analysis on the problem space, as well as provision of real data points for wargaming, training or calibrating a simulation.

There are often questions raised as to the bias, which is inherent in any history (both written and verbal). All histories are taken from a perspective and that is a fact of histories – but that does not make them false from an historical point of view [6]. As long as there is an awareness of the perspectives of history, care can be taken to minimise the impact of bias when drawing data for analysis. In terms of this research, the events are themselves historical facts and the stimuli can be drawn with care as either direct records from the people involved or from others who have documented the events. In particular, correlating data sources on an event from multiple perspectives can significantly aid in the reduction of bias.

Data was obtained from a wide variety of sources including an extensive literature survey on the history of the Solomon Islands including, Spanish, French, British, German, New Zealand and Australian historical sources [7-28]. An attempt was made to include all sources, which detailed the environment of the population (politically, socially, culturally etc.) as well as the events themselves in detail and any other relevant material, which completed the picture.

An initial narrative of the data collected is generated but, due to the detail and complexity of the information, this is of little use for analysis and provides only a context. The historical events of interest are identified and the underlying stimuli elucidated from this narrative as causes and triggers. These stimuli and events are then linked together graphically using a modified influence diagram and the stimuli are linked together and analysed using a matrix. The diagrams of stimuli and events are at two levels, the ‘detailed’ level and the ‘distilled’ level. The detailed diagrams show a more detailed list of stimuli associated with events and the distilled diagrams group these stimuli into a more generic dataset. This process allows trends to be identified and investigated in further detail. This also permits low level quantification of stimuli and event frequencies as well as quantification and analysis of generic category of stimulus contribution to the events. Other information investigated at a quantitative level included population statistics of religion and ethnicity, where it was available and time delays between causes, triggers and events.

3. Brief History of the Solomon Islands

This section covers the history, analysis and outcomes for the independent country of the Solomon Islands to the north east of mainland Australia as shown in Appendix B [27]. The archipelago of the Solomon Islands consists of 6 major islands and approximately 992 smaller islands, atolls and reefs. There are 65 distinct languages spoken with Solomon’s Pijin as the lingua franca since the 1940s, and there are many ethnicities and cultures distinctly different from each other within the group [19, 20, 23, 25, 28]. This makeup is very different to the other regional countries studied to date. In addition, the Solomon Islands has a clan and village based society (with clans spread amongst villages) with different ethnic groups amongst the native population, which have not been encountered in the countries studied to date.

3.1 History Since European Contact

First contact was made with elements of the Solomon Islands by Spain in early 1568. This was followed by several unsuccessful exploration and colonisation attempts by the Spanish in 1595 and from 1605 to 1606. This was then followed by one unsuccessful British and two unsuccessful French expeditions in 1766, 1768 and 1769, respectively [7-9].

From 1843 religious missionaries began visiting the islands, and through until 1885 there were several attacks on them including the deaths of two Bishops from different denominations. Late in this period, between 1870 and about 1880, there was a war between the Europeans and white Australians and the islanders and Blackbirding⁴ was conducted on the islands over the same period until 1911 when it was outlawed and ‘stamped out’ by the United Kingdom. It is believed that Blackbirding was one of the causes of this war. There were two native Solomon Island wars between 1884 and 1885, called the Shortlands (or Mono) war and the war of the Areca Nut. In 1893 the United Kingdom declared the southern Solomon Islands the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) [7-9].

After a quiet period, there were several events starting with an Insurgency on Guadalcanal, then the Malaita Massacre in 1926, followed by the murder of tax collectors on Malaita in 1927. In the period from 1930 to 1935 the Pokokoqoro Movement was popular and in 1942 during World War II (WWII) the islands were occupied by the Japanese forces and the battle for the island of Guadalcanal commenced in August of the same year between the Allied and Japanese forces. The islanders provided much support for the Allied forces between the occupation in 1942 and the end of the war in 1945. Additionally, the islanders conducted a strike over wages in 1943 and founded the Marching Rule (Maasina Rule) movement in 1944 (see Section 5.2) [7-10].

From the end of WWII, until 1950 the United States (US) occupied the Solomon Islands and this period also saw a general strike on Malaita, protests on Guadalcanal and wages hearings. These events showed differences in the islanders’ responses to the inequality in wage issues. Post US occupation, there were two popular movements, the Eto religious movement in 1959 and the Dolaisi Custom Movement from 1964 till 1966. In 1970, Britain instituted regional assemblies on the islands and in 1976 internal self government was introduced. Two years later, in 1978, the Solomon Islands gained independence from Britain within the Commonwealth [7-10, 25].

The next 10 years were relatively quiet for the Solomon Islands, however there were large movements of islanders between the islands as they relocated to non traditional locations, and there was a mix of the cultures and ethnicities which previously had been largely separate or followed traditional relationship lines. The people of Guadalcanal began to resent the Malaitans who had relocated to Guadalcanal and in 1988 a rally was held to highlight the problems felt by the traditional residents of Guadalcanal. Following another 10 years of tensions the people of Guadalcanal formed the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army (GRA) and

⁴ Blackbirding was the illegal capture and trade of native islanders from the Pacific Islands for slave labour in other locations such as Australia.

Isatambu Freedom Fighters (IFF) (which were later to become known as the Isatambu Freedom Movement (IFM)) in 1998. Civil War then raged on the islands (predominantly Guadalcanal) until 2000 and in this period there were raids on the police armouries on Malaita, a large rally on Guadalcanal and then the first of many attempted peace accords – the Honiara Peace Accord in June 1999. As the Peace Accord was being proposed the Malaitans formed a group to formally fight back against the IFM, who called themselves the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF). In the following months there were several more peace attempts, with the Marau Communiqué, Panatina agreement, Auki Communiqué and Buala Peace Communiqué through to mid 2000. Following the attempted coup in June 2000 where the MEF unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the government, the Gizo Civil Society was formed by locals in order to stem violence and lawlessness in Gizo. In October the final Peace Agreement was brokered in Townsville, Australia, and was known as the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA). International Peace Monitoring Teams (IPMT) observed the ‘peace’ until mid 2001 when they withdrew [7-10, 12-15, 18, 19, 21-25]. Shortly after, in early 2002, lawlessness again began to rise in the islands, particularly Guadalcanal, which escalated until in July 2003, Operation Helpem Fren was deployed, including Australia peacekeeping forces amongst those from other countries, in order to help re-establish stability on the islands [7-10, 12-15, 18, 19, 21-25]. Today stability is still being rebuilt with some military peacekeeping and mostly International Police forces assisting the country to rebuild and stabilise.

3.2 Historical Population Demographics

As opposed to East Timor and Aceh [1, 2], the demographics changes in the Solomon Islands are primarily in the location of the islanders, that is, the population has become more urbanised (more have moved to larger towns and cities for employment, particularly Honiara, Noro, Gizo, Auki and Tulagi⁵ [16, 29]) and many people have relocated to different islands to where they were traditionally based. Data over time is difficult to obtain and, though it is being analysed, the rural to urban immigration rates for the Solomon Islands are currently not available [17].

The bulk of the Solomon Islander population is Melanesian at 93%, with Polynesians at 4%, Micronesians at 1.5% and others at 1.5% [20]. Though the bulk of the population have similar ethnic extraction, the different islander groupings have resulted in differences in language, culture, beliefs and to some extent appearance, which has fuelled much of what has been termed ‘ethnic violence’ on the islands [7, 10, 12]. This is also linked to the traditional feelings of mistrust between certain ‘ethnic’ groups on the islands that are built into their beliefs and traditional ways. The recent ‘ethnic crisis’ on the islands saw mass movements of islanders, the initial stages of which were captured by the 1999 census [16] and resulted in 27% of the original population of Honiara and Guadalcanal being displaced. This data should be tempered with the study by Karle [12] where the role of ethnicity and cultural factors is presented but tempered against other factors in the recent violence on the island.

There is no religious violence relevant to this study (although early missionaries were attacked in some locations. this was mainly due to cultural and traditional factors rather than

⁵ The combined urban population of Honiara and Noro constitutes 15% of the total population [29].

religious factors), however for interest, completeness and a comparison with other countries studied to date the following breakdown of the population is provided [20].

- Anglican 45%
- Roman Catholic 18%
- United 12%
- Other 21%
- Traditional belief systems 4%

4. Trends Analysis

The trends analysis for this study was conducted using the methodology described in Section 2 and previous reports [1-3]. The results and discussions are presented here.

The stimuli of the events, which are identified in this trends analysis, are discussed in the sections below and are marked in the diagrams in Appendix C. The appendix contains 'detailed' stimulus/event diagrams and 'distilled' stimulus/event diagrams. The 'distilled' views of the diagrams have been used to minimise the numbers of links in the map and to allow stimuli of a generally similar nature or classification to be grouped together. There is also a high interdependency between stimulus relationships, which is highlighted in Appendix C.3. The terms used for both distilled and detailed analyses are a 'basis set' selected to cover the items of interest.

Table 1 describes each of the general terms used to describe a cause in more detail. What is identified during the analysis are relationships and the recurrence or patterns of relationships, between stimuli and events as well as between stimuli.

It is interesting to note that the level of complexity seen in the Solomon Islands is comparable with the complexity seen in other countries to date, including Aceh and Papua New Guinea. This is an item of note as the histories are very different as are the time frames for the study. This might be an indication of the level of social complexity within the population of these countries when compared with the populations in countries with relatively less complexity such as East Timor. Also of note are the 'pockets' of stimuli interdependency with many stimuli independent of others. This is different to the other countries which showed higher proportions of stimulus dependency.

Table 1 Definitions of stimulus terms used (terms with similar definitions are grouped together).

Term Used	Description
Lack of understanding (both native and white)	This element covers the lack of understanding of issues from both a native and white/European perspective. This is often related to lack of education, perceptions, cultural differences and false assumptions.
Frustration and Expectations not met	Covers the feelings of the population when expectations have not been met.
Financial (traditional versus western) including land and trade, and traditional power and wealth distribution	Western/modern monetary and financial systems as opposed to the tribal land value/resource value trade and barter system. This is linked to the financial term and also covers traditional ownership of land and traditional use of land for subsistence farming. Traditional financial systems including land were closely linked to the traditional power and distribution of wealth amongst the tribes.
Traditional practices and beliefs including sorcery	The traditional culture and beliefs for each village, clan and ethnicity group. This includes the use of 'sorcery' as a way of achieving a goal or using as a threat due to strong belief in its effect.
Customary law	The law and tradition used by each village or clan
Payback Culture including Malaita Vendetta Murders	Certain Solomon island villages or clans traditionally believed in payback culture where the victim/victims family repaid an offence either in kind or by monetary reparations in traditional currency. The Malaitans in particular conducted payback which resulted in the development of the Malaita Vendetta Murders where a specialised group of 'hit men' appeared in order to conduct payback on behalf of victims' families.
Tribal Allegiances	Many villages and clans on the Solomon Islands have traditional allegiances to other clans, villages and ethnic groups amongst the islands.
Exploitation and Blackbirding/Slave Trade and associated hostilities	This includes the treatment of natives by the early Europeans on the islands. The Blackbirding/ slave trade occurred where European 'Blackbirders' kidnapped islanders and transported them elsewhere in the Pacific region or elsewhere on the Solomon Islands to work on plantations. This slave trade practice generated much hostility amongst the population.
Equality (employment, opportunities, pay, conditions of employment) and discrimination	This refers to the whole host of issues with regards to employment, opportunities and pay levels, and includes the colonial indentured labour system. It also covers discrimination between the islander ethnic groups among themselves.
Christianity & Missionary Work	This refers to the introduction of Christianity to the native population by various Christian missionary groups. It also covers the different approach used occasionally in the Solomon Islands by many missionaries of recognising and allowing a continuation of traditional customs and beliefs and the integration of these with the Christian ideals. This also covers the infrastructure, support, health and education provided by the local missions.
Infrastructure and development including health and education	Education level of the population. Includes loss of village centric worldview. This also covers the lack of infrastructure and health development in certain areas of the islands.
Economic including tax implementation, unemployment and wages	This includes the economic factors for the Solomon Islands including the introduction of taxes, western style wages and unemployment.

Term Used	Description
Political power and leadership including governance, leadership and authority	This includes the changes to leadership and ethnic differences in the leadership groups versus traditional leadership and authority. In addition, the population's perception of poor governance, leadership and authority is a key factor.
Actual/perceived corruption of those in power	This describes both the actual and perceived corruption of those in power down to the Village leader level.
Labour recruiting for plantations	Throughout the 1800s and 1900s Solomon Islanders were recruited through indentured labour recruitment plans for plantations throughout the Solomon Islands. They were paid and housed during this period after which they were allowed to continue with their lives however they chose.
Development of national identity (or lack of)	Due to the many languages, ethnicities and cultures throughout the many islands of the Solomon Islands there is no or little national identity, with which all islanders can associate.
Ethnicity of Islander groups, lack of shared culture and language barriers of islander groups	There are 65 languages spread across the vast range of the Solomon Islands and ethnicity groups. Many groups have developed their own cultures as a result of the language and geographic barriers. There is little in the way of 'shared culture' amongst the Solomon Islanders particularly between ethnicity groups and major island groups.
External Influence	This refers to the influences imposed/imparted to the local population by European and British colonial interests, administration and the introduction of missionary groups. This also includes the western trade and financial systems and 'ways of life'. The introduction of many western goods in WWII and the technologies and advancements of 'modern' war are also included.
Friendship between Europeans and Natives	This covers the relationships developed between native Solomon Islanders and the Europeans who had colonial interests or resided on the islands. This was further developed during WWII with the American forces.
Traditional Feelings against Malaitans	There is traditionally a feeling of mistrust and to some extent hatred towards the Malaitans by the residents of Guadalcanal and other islands. This is a cultural barrier between the groups with the Malaitans living a very different way of life to the other island groups.

4.1 Frequency Analysis

From the diagrams showing the relationships between events and causes (Appendix C) it was possible to extract some limited (and subjective) quantitative data allowing a simple frequency analysis comparing numbers of events to causes and vice versa. Figure 1 shows the number of separate causes attributed to each event by total causes and gives an indication of the complexity of the relationships. Figure 2 shows the breakdown of causes to events by generic stimulus category. Finally, Figure 3 shows the number of separate events associated with each cause and includes a categorisation of the cause by generic stimulus category and further demonstrates the complexity in the relationships.

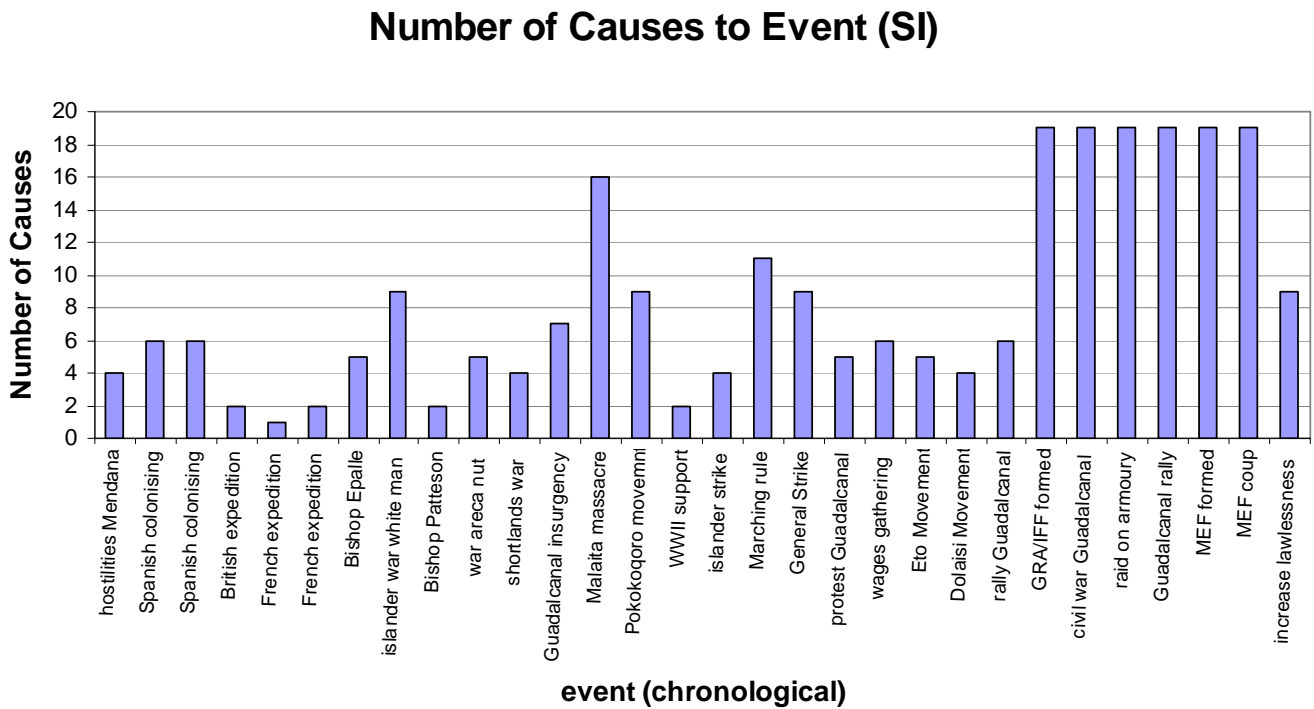


Figure 1 The total number of causes to each event

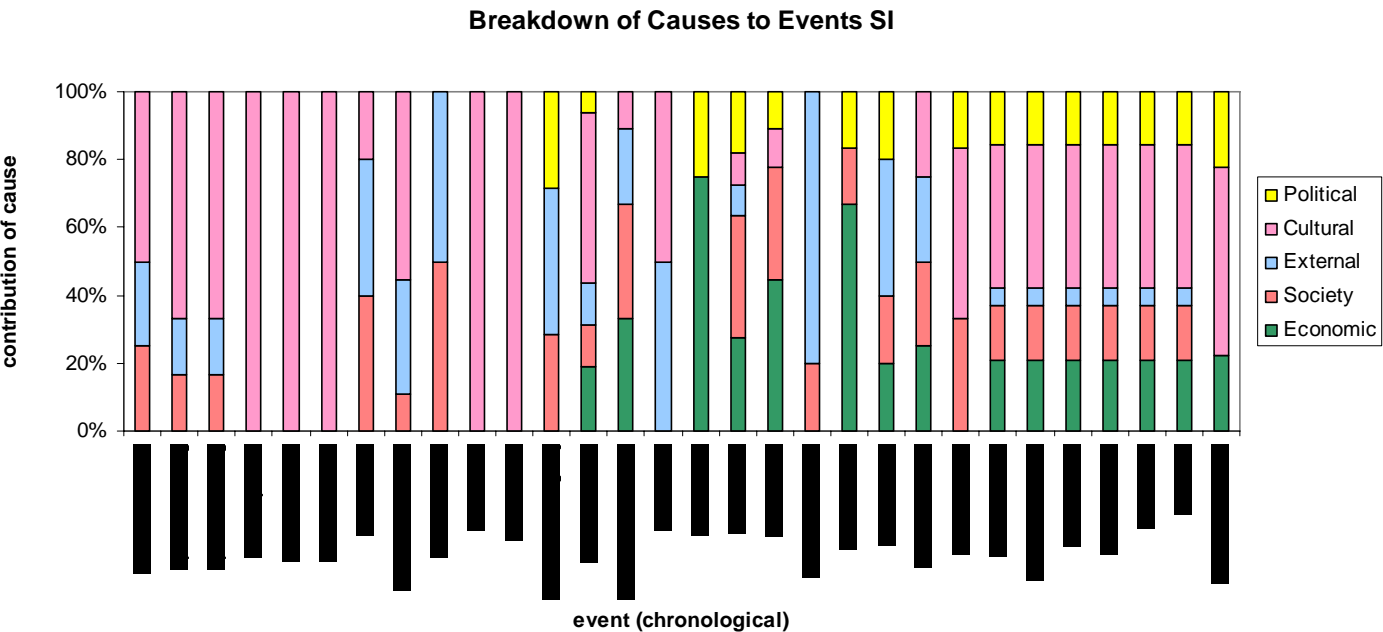


Figure 2 The contribution of each generic cause category to each event

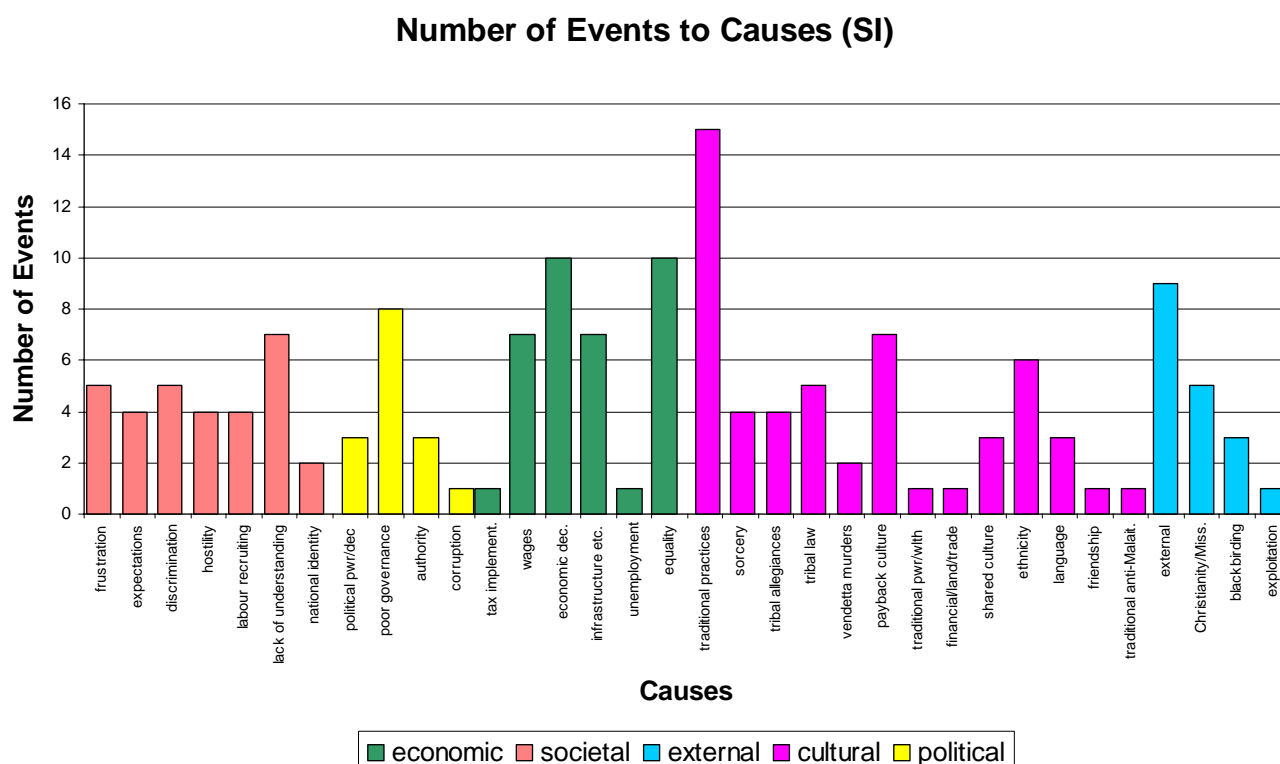


Figure 3 The number of events correlated with each cause and the attribution of each cause to a dominant generic cause category

Drawing on the results from Figure 1 to Figure 3, there are several key drivers and trends which can be identified. From Figure 1 we see the cyclical behaviour previously identified for the region. There are 'boil-over' events through the cyclical pattern, and the escalation to these events can be identified in the non-resolution of stimuli. We also see that over time there has been a slight overall increase in the apparent number of causes contributing to the events in the Solomon Islands, that is, an increase in complexity. It has previously been suggested that this increase might result from media exposure, education, human rights issues or other modern factors [1, 2].

From Figure 2 we see that the contribution of cultural stimuli to the events on the Solomon Islands has continued to play a considerable role throughout the events studied and that the key contributing stimuli are coupled with the societal factors. The political and economic factors have played a much lesser role and are only present since just before WWII. The external stimuli have been present regularly over time; however, the contributions are often small.

From Figure 3 there is no clear pattern or trend to the number of events associated with each cause. What can be seen, though, is that the cultural stimuli form the greatest number of event contributions, which is consistent with the results from Figure 2. Additionally, traditional practices including sorcery, ethnicity and payback culture, economic decisions and external factors are stimuli with the greatest number of events attributed to them.

The individual stimuli, which can be identified as key drivers for the events on the Solomon Islands include: traditional practices, external influences, equality, economic decisions and poor governance. A simple hierarchical ranking system was used to determine the key drivers from the generic stimuli categories from this data. This simple method attributed a high score to those which contributed greatly, a medium score to those which contributed partly, and a low score where there was minimal contribution. These were then summed together across the events and causes to determine the generic contribution hierarchy. The key drivers identified were the cultural generic category followed by the external, societal and economic factors, though not all were present throughout. Finally, the political factors were present as drivers but at a much lower level.

4.2 Positive and Negative Influences

As a part of this analysis it was possible to take a very simplistic look at the apparent positive and negative influences on the population over the time period investigated. A list of these influences is given below, and for simplicity they have been kept as generic as possible. Both long and short term influence considerations are incorporated into this analysis. They have been included in this general table as part of the analysis and are not marked. However this could be achieved in a more 'detailed' analysis. The analysis of positive and negative influences is, of necessity, extremely subjective. The definitions used in this study are:

- Negative Influence: population reaction to stimuli where violence within the population or to others occurs (e.g. population attacks a part of a town).
- Positive Influence: population reaction to stimuli where no violence occurs or peaceful mass support or assimilation occurs (e.g. new religion is accepted and adopted by the population and there is no violent reaction or changes to everyday life); could be considered to be a non-negative influence.

The positive and negative influences are different from the stimuli as they are more specific influences on the society, which in some cases do correspond to causes and in some cases are triggers. The list below is a comparative list of items, which can be considered to have caused either positive or negative reactions in the population and can be correlated with the stimuli discussed elsewhere in the report.

Positive Influence

- Friendships with Europeans/Americans/Missionaries etc.
- Traditional Practices continued/respected
- Traditional practices and beliefs merged with Christian beliefs
- Management of perception/education of the traditionally opposed ethnic groups or allowing them to stay separate

Negative Influence

- Imposed Western/European financial / monetary systems
- Greater movement of the population resulting in mixing of traditionally ethnically opposed people
- Perceived discrimination of/by one ethnic group over another

- Push away from traditional practices to Western ways
- Blackbirding and exploitation
- Movement away from traditional village life and working together

4.3 Relationships between causes

It is interesting to note from this analysis that some of the stimuli are similar throughout the period investigated and that it is simple to see some stimuli recurring. These stimuli are termed persistent causes and are listed in Table 2. When compared with the total list of stimuli however, this is only a small subset.

Table 2 Persistent causes over time for the Solomon Islands

Persistent Stimuli
Payback culture
Ethnicity
External influences
Traditional practices including sorcery
Political and leadership roles
Economic equality
Infrastructure and development equality

When the relationships between the stimuli are investigated directly as in Appendix C, we see that the relationships for the Solomon Islands are quite complex. Interestingly, we still see some of the causal stimulus evolution reported for Aceh and East Timor. In particular, the payback culture and oral traditions perpetuating mistrust in the other islands' ethnic groups are key aspects of a societal memory that operates within the Solomon Islands. This is different to Papua New Guinea, where no or little evidence of a societal memory was found with its strongly tribal based culture. The Solomon Islands also have a clan/village based culture, however it is not as low level as PNG and the ties are more along ethnic lines and traditional allegiances, which can extend further, such as geographically, rather than purely tribal or clan based.

4.4 Time Delays between stimuli and events

An investigation into time delays between the factors for stimuli and events showed no relevant correlations or trends. Indeed, the time delay could range from days through to tens of years or more, further supporting evidence of a societal memory within the general population.

5. Events of Interest

Three events are covered in greater detail here as they highlight some of the complexity, payback culture, ethnic nature and different reactions for the ethnic populations under investigation. Particularly, trade amongst groups who were not hostile (due to village, clan and ethnic ties) was important [8].

5.1 War of the Areca Nut 1885

In 1885 the war of the Areca Nut occurred at the south eastern end of the Solomon Islands. It began when some canoes from Sa'a on the island of Little Malaita travelled to the island of Makira to a village called Fagani. This was not uncommon as trade amongst common ethnic groups was important to the villages. While there, a man from the Sa'a group took an areca nut⁶ that had been used in a sacred ceremony and gave it to a local Fagani headman. The headman did not know this and was cursed when he ate the nut and died⁷ [7, 8].

When the Sa'a canoes left they were followed by the men of Fagani who eventually caught up with them at Uki and killed two of the Sa'a men. The Sa'a then wanted revenge but needed to hire a canoe large enough to carry an avenging party. News of the Sa'a hiring this canoe reached some 'thieves' who were visiting from the Polynesian Island of Anuta who were famous for stealing things left unattended [7, 8].

When the hired vessel arrived back at Sa'a, the thieves stole it that night. They were spotted by some men from Port Adam (north of Sa'a and closer to Anuta) the following morning. The Sa'a men then killed six of the Port Adam men in order that they would then take revenge on the thieves as they were closer. This backfired and instead the Port Adam men attacked the Sa'a. In retaliation, two Port Adam women were killed while selling fish in Sa'a. The Sa'a also claimed that they never killed people but they believed that the Port Adam people belonged to a group who spoke another language so they made an exception [7, 8].

The war was finally ended when the Port Adam people suggested an arrangement: the 'young Port Adam headman was to marry a young woman from Sa'a of equivalent rank. The man who gave the Areca nut to the Fagani headman paid a fine to the relatives of the crew who were killed at Uki. The Port Adam people paid 10 strings of 100 porpoise teeth, fifty units of shell money and forty live pigs for the young Sa'a woman who married their headman' [7, 8].

Some of the primary causes of this war include:

- payback culture
- actual and perceived ethnic differences
- trade
- traditional beliefs and ways

⁶ Areca Nuts are also commonly known as betel nuts and are chewed by native islanders. They have mild stimulant properties. Long term use stains the mouth, tongue and teeth a deep red.

⁷ The actual cause of the death is not documented, however village locals all believed in the curse and hence believed the death was a result of that sorcery.

- customary law
- 'sorcery' – that is, the curse
- external intervention of the Polynesian thieves in a situation already set for conflict

5.2 Marching Rule 1944 - 1946

The Marching Rule (or Maasina Rulu or Rule)⁸ Movement sprang out of Malaita (and spread to the nearby islands of Ulawa, San Cristobal and Guadalcanal) in the post WWII years and was one of several movements to appear on the Solomon Islands. The movement started as a secret organisation in 1944 that openly ran from 1946 until about 1950. WWII had come as a shock to the people of the Solomon Islands in its severity and level of military advancement. In addition, many Malaitans felt that the colonial administration did not invest back into the country what had been promised or expected from the British and that the remuneration by the labour programs was not equal to that paid for free labour. The main message of the movement was of self help, cooperation and to live by customary laws. This last item was particularly important to the Kwaio on Malaita [7-10, 13].

The followers of the movement declared themselves free of British control and thousands of Malaitans abandoned their jobs on British plantations and struck for higher wages. The movement built new large settlements for its followers with big collective farms, cleaned up villages, opened custom schools, established their own banks and refused to pay taxes. Finally, the movement controlled its own labour force, restricting the supply of labour to the colonial government for labour and plantation programs. In addition, as part of the political force of the movement, the leaders of the movement broke Malaita up into nine districts led by a hierarchy of chiefs. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the clan chiefs who were responsible for maintaining law and order according to the movement's laws which ran along the lines of customary law and not those of the colonial government [7-10, 13].

The British colonial administration considered the movement to be rebellious and dangerous and hence they arrested the leaders of the movement and sent them to jail on charges of inciting rebellion. They then proceeded to arrest thousands of followers until the village economies of farming and fishing could no longer be sustained due to a lack of young men. In order to get their workers back, the Malaitans agreed to stop the movement and to also drop their demands for self rule and for higher wages. [7-10, 13]

Some of the primary causes of this movement include:

- Failure of the colonial administration to provide adequate services for taxes
- Loss of customary law, and customary law in conflict with imposed colonial law
- Inequality in wages between free labour workers and indentured or recruited plantation labour
- Self rule
- Traditional beliefs being lost to Christianity and Christian values
- Political power
- Frustration over expectations not being met

⁸ This was also known as the Rule of Brotherhood.

5.3 Formation of the Malaita Eagle Force, 1999

The Malaita Eagle Force (MEF) was formed after a chain of events over at least an 11 year period. The formation of this militia group was one of a group of events associated with the civil war and lawlessness requiring international intervention.

Since WWII, migrants (mostly from Malaita) have moved from elsewhere in the country to Guadalcanal and particularly its urban capital Honiara. Initially these migrants settled on available government owned land but soon the demand outstripped the supply. Many settlers then either 'bought' or illegally settled on customary or government land. There was tolerance for those migrants who came for work, however, coupled with a traditional ethnic mistrust of the Malaitans by those of Guadalcanal, came a resentment of the migrants who came solely to access better land⁹ on Guadalcanal or as unemployed. In addition, those from Guadalcanal felt they should have preferential employment over Malaitans. With the continued spread of migrant settlements, in 1981 the government set up a task force to determine how to stop the spread of settler housing into a water catchment area used for Honiara's water supply. No action was taken and in 1988 the people of Guadalcanal marched to Parliament to air their grievances. The Prime Minister of the day addressed the people but still no action was taken, so the resentment simmered for another 10 years. Meanwhile, development of facilities and infrastructure continued for the urban residents in Honiara while nothing occurred in the rural areas of Guadalcanal [12, 14, 25, 26].

In 1998, the government's inaction and the building resentment led to a group of Guadalcanal youths campaigning for support to oust the settlers. The group gained momentum and began intimidating and harassing settlers around Honiara by late 1998. Their aim was to drive out the Malaitan settlers and unemployed who made up the greatest proportion of settlers on Guadalcanal. By the end of 1998 this group had evolved into a militant group known as the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army (GRA) and Isatambu Freedom Fighters (IFF), which was later to become known as the Isatambu Freedom Movement (IFM). In early 1999, at a large rally, the 'bonafide demands of the Indigenous People of Guadalcanal' were presented to the government. Also early in 1999, the police armoury at Auki on Malaita was emptied and a group of Malaitans, offended by IFM and frustrated by the government's inability to settle the situation, formed an opposition militant group to IFM following their belief in their payback culture – the MEF, landing on Guadalcanal shortly after [12, 14, 25, 26].

Some of the primary causes of the formation of this group include:

- Frustration at government inaction and inability to control the situation
- Revenge or payback for attacks against Malaitans
- Migration of Malaitans to areas where there was some traditional ethnic mistrust and hostility exacerbated by settling on customary land
- Non resolution of issues early on
- Development inconsistencies between urban and rural areas
- Perceived discrimination against indigenous inhabitants of the island
- Poor leadership in the government in making decisions

⁹ Guadalcanal has better agricultural land than Malaita.

6. Revisit from RAMSI 2003 to 2007

The information provided in this section is an addendum to the original report to provide some additional contextual information and its effect on the original analysis with events that have occurred since the original work was undertaken.

6.1 Additional Background

Continuing from the end of Section 3, the degraded law and order situation in the Solomon Islands was addressed by the undertaking of Operation Helpem Fren under the auspices of the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI). This is lead by Australian police forces and contributed to by most police forces of the region [30-36].

In December 2004, an Australian Police Officer was killed and various others were attacked. The offender was apprehended in January 2005; however the subsequent increase in forces following this event highlighted the continued degradation of law and order in the islands [31-33,35].

In April 2006, eight days after he was elected, Prime Minister Snyder Rini resigned following riots and a pre-empted vote of no confidence by the Parliament. The riots occurred in Honiara immediately after his election and they undid some of the stability to law and order work undertaken by RAMSI over the previous five years. The rioters claimed that Snyder Rini had favoured local Chinese businessmen and the resulting violence left parts of Honiara, including much of the local Chinatown, destroyed. These beliefs had stemmed from allegations of bribery to Chinese businessmen in order to buy the votes of the members of Parliament. There was already a deep underlying resentment against the minority Chinese community and some of this was the belief that they were exporting large sums of money back to China. In May 2006, Manasseh Sogavare was elected by the Parliament as the new Prime Minister [30-36].

Since early 2007, the government of the Solomon Islands has been pushing the Australian Government for either RAMSI to leave the Islands or to set an exit date for their departure. At the time of this update (February 2007), RAMSI is still operating throughout the Solomon Islands, and the law and order situation is still considered to be very fragile [34,35,36].

6.2 Update to Analysis

Two extra events can be incorporated into the previous analysis. They are the killing of the Australian Police Officer and attacks on other Police in the area, and 2006 Post Election Riots. When these are incorporated into the original analysis we find that the original trend patterns are consistent and still hold, with no anomalies developing. There are no changes to the insights gained nor the lessons learned, described in Section 7.

7. Lessons Learned

There are several lessons which can be learned from the analysis of the Solomon Islands. There is evidence of a societal memory based in clans, villages and ethnic lines which perpetuates the belief in payback culture and makes the ethnic differences a cycle which is difficult to break. These ethnic and village/clan allegiances and perceived differences and discrimination have become an avenue for expressing frustration and aggression between groups. Certainly, the perceived discriminations or preferences have been present in the events over the last ten years. Additionally, the societal memory is closely tied to the cultural drivers determined for the Solomon Islands.

The loss of culture and traditional ways are also tied closely to events on the Solomon Islands.

The generic key drivers for the population are primarily cultural with external, societal and economic factors all contributing to varying extents.

7.1 Progressive Regional Comparison

Although the five countries' populations investigated to date [1-3] have been culturally and historically diverse, there are trends seen in the appearance and identification of 'boil-over' events - that is, as part of a cyclical pattern where there is an increase in the stimulus complexity for each event, resulting in an event which is more complex and usually significant. The next event following this 'boil-over' event is then much less complex and the cycle starts again.

The level of complexity seen in stimuli for events may be related to the possible difficulty in or simple non-resolution of events. Importantly, for each country studied to date there are some stimuli categories which are present and consistent in all cases.

Important drivers for all countries appear to be traditional structures, ways and beliefs, with exploitation (actual or perceived and including discrimination). Though each country has its own unique set of drivers, those listed here are common to all countries studied thus far as important drivers. This indicates that cultural factors and the treatment of the population are important factors when dealing with populations that cannot be ignored.

Societal memory has been found to be a key aspect of East Timor, Aceh and the Solomon Islands. It was not seen in PNG and was identified as likely to be developing in Papua. In a previous study [3] it was suggested that the development of societal memory could be linked with feudal societies prior to colonialism. However, since additional analyses have been conducted, there are indications that this is not the case, but it might be the level of interaction of the population geographically outside of their immediate groups. For example, the East Timorese, Acehnese, islanders from Bougainville and Solomon Islanders which all showed some level of societal memory, have traditionally had high levels of trade and interaction with other members of the population of those regions even though some have had traditionally feudalistic and some more tribal or village based structures. This is different, for example, to

Papua and Papua New Guinea, which showed little or no societal memory, that traditionally were based on isolated tribal groups and hence the level of interaction with other groups within the population was very small. Papua has shown a level of developing societal memory [3] and this may be the result of the population interacting more and moving away from traditional structures. In order to substantiate this hypothesis, analysis of a greater number of countries will need to continue to be undertaken in order to determine correlations of similarities and differences with reasonable confidence.

8. Conclusions

This report provides the historical analysis of population reactions to stimuli for the Solomon Islands and also provides a progressive comparison between the five countries completed to date in our region. The intent of these studies is to identify probable generic causes of the population reactions over a large time period and to determine if there are trends or patterns of behaviour over that period for providing contextual information and guidance on socio cultural issues for planners in multi agency operations in the region.

Key drivers and stimuli have been identified as well as the existence of a societal memory particularly linked to the cultural drivers and practices/beliefs of the population. In particular for the Solomon Islands, there are many stimuli which are independent of others, which has not resulted in a reduced complexity of events. Payback culture is very strong as a persistent stimulus not seen in the other countries.

The progressive regional comparison thus far has shown some trends of interest that require further investigation of other regional populations for verification and to develop the trends.

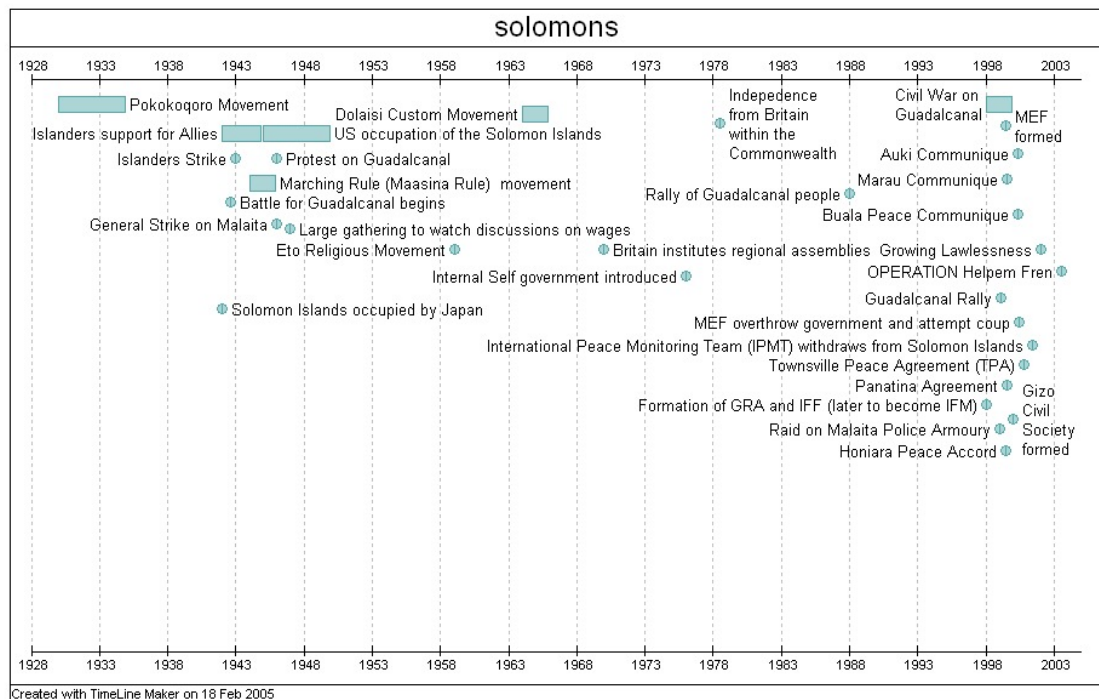
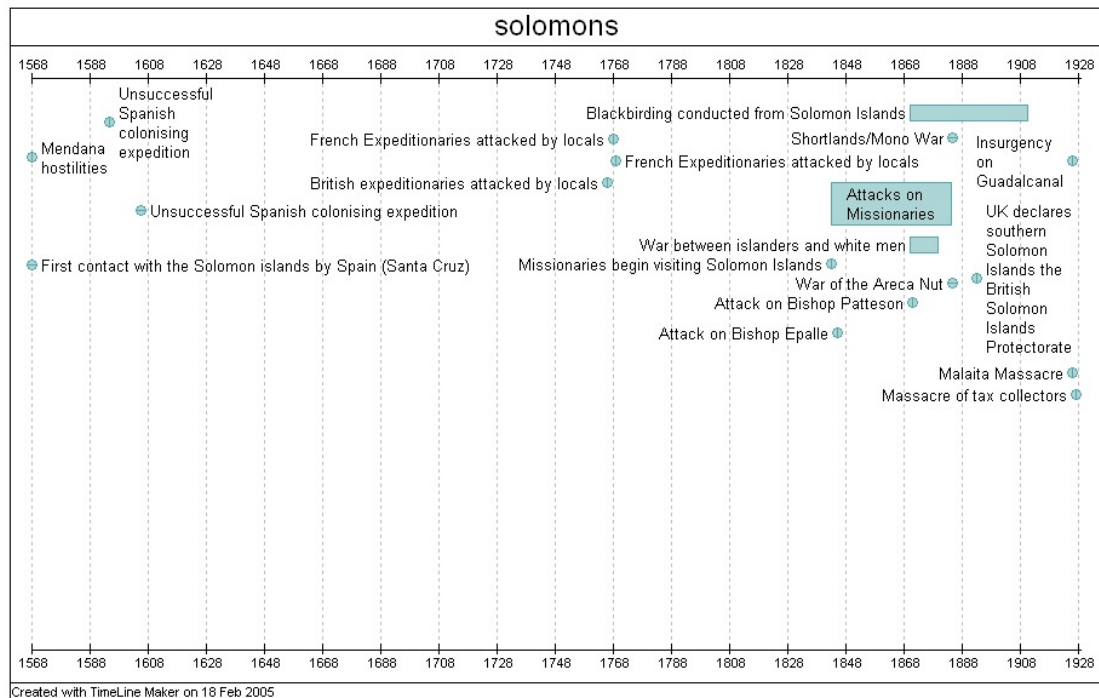
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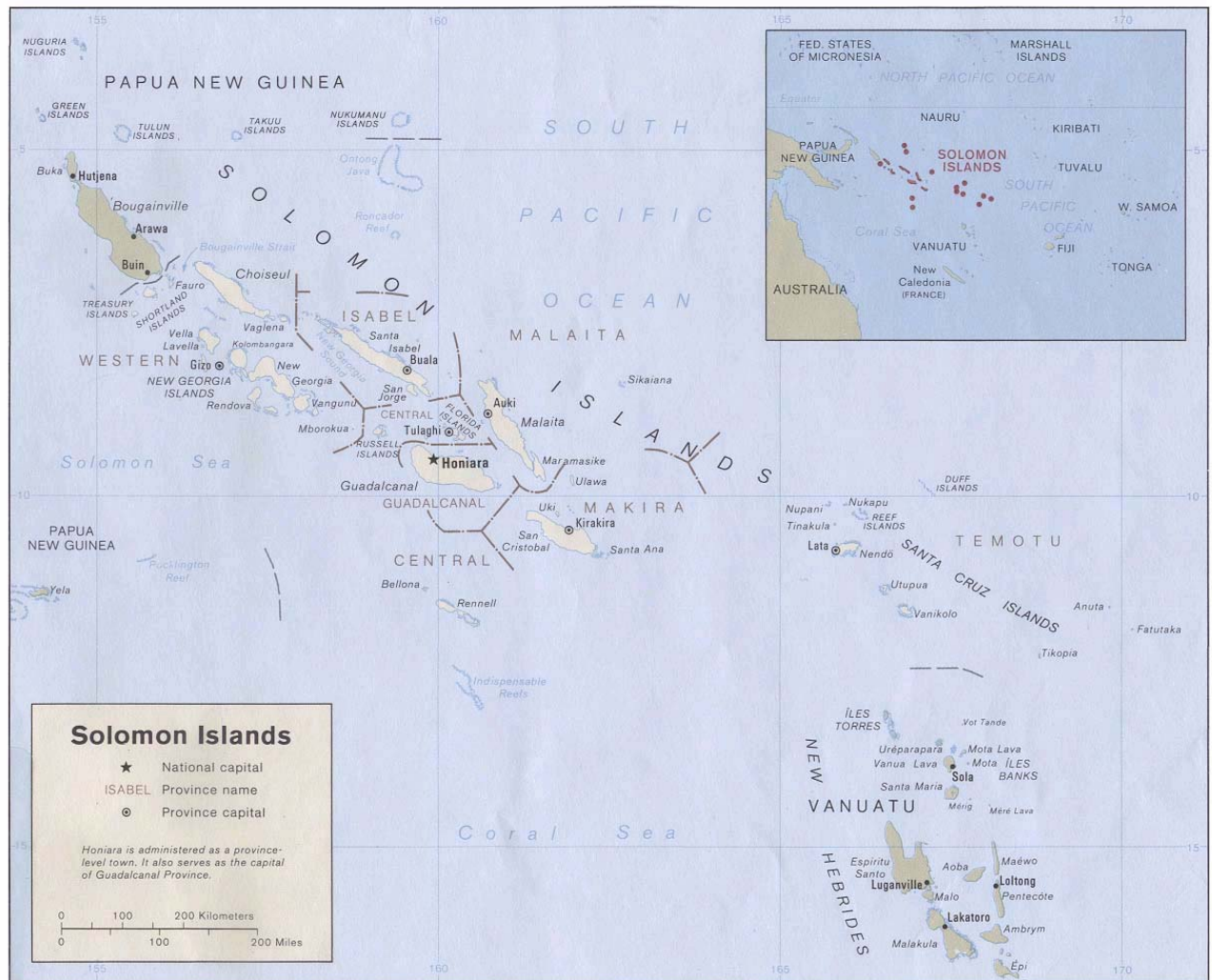
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Appendix A: Timeline of Events



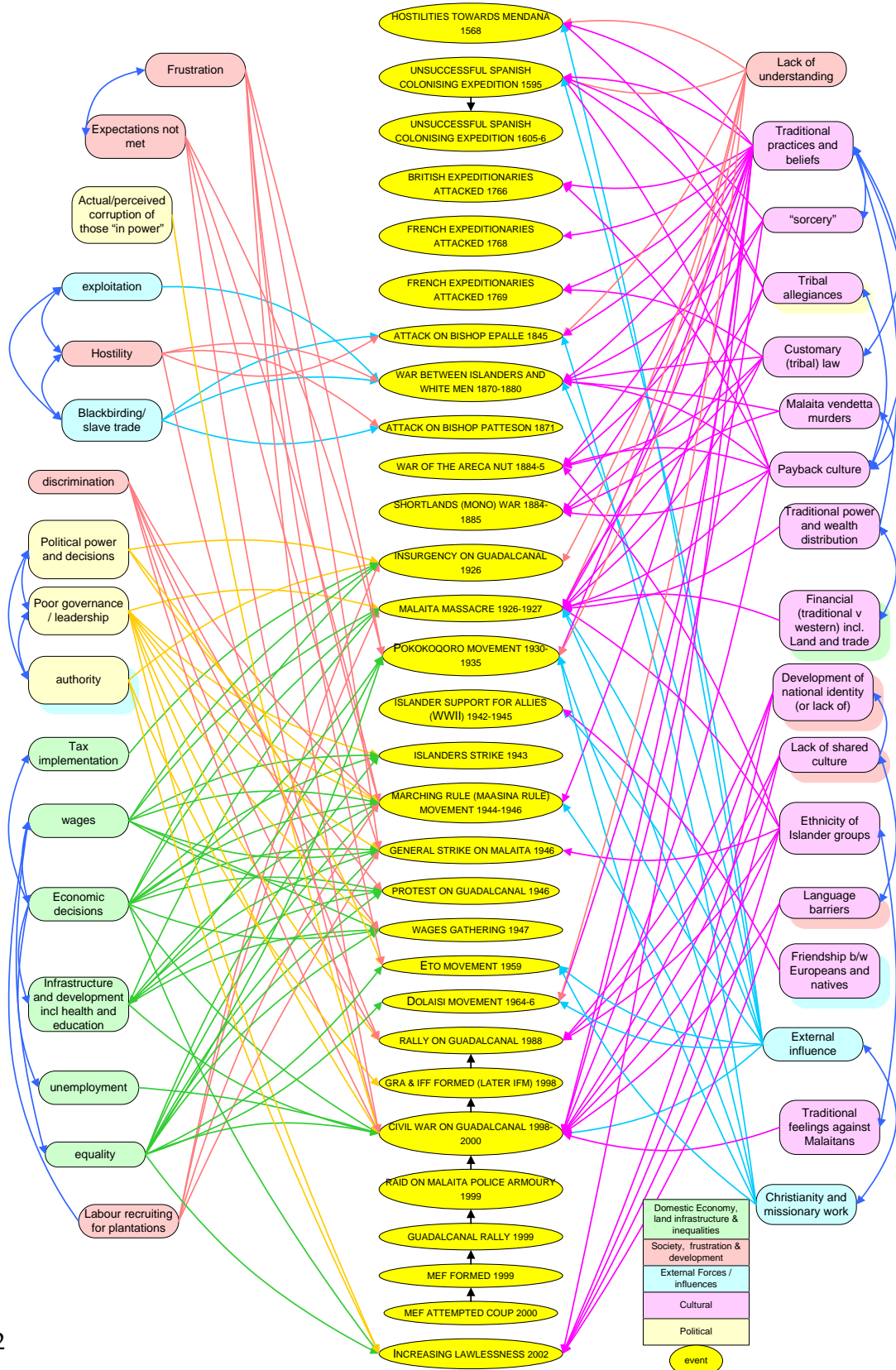
Appendix B: Map of the Solomon Islands

The following map [27] shows the Solomon Islands and their relationships to other Islands including Papua New Guinea and Australia.

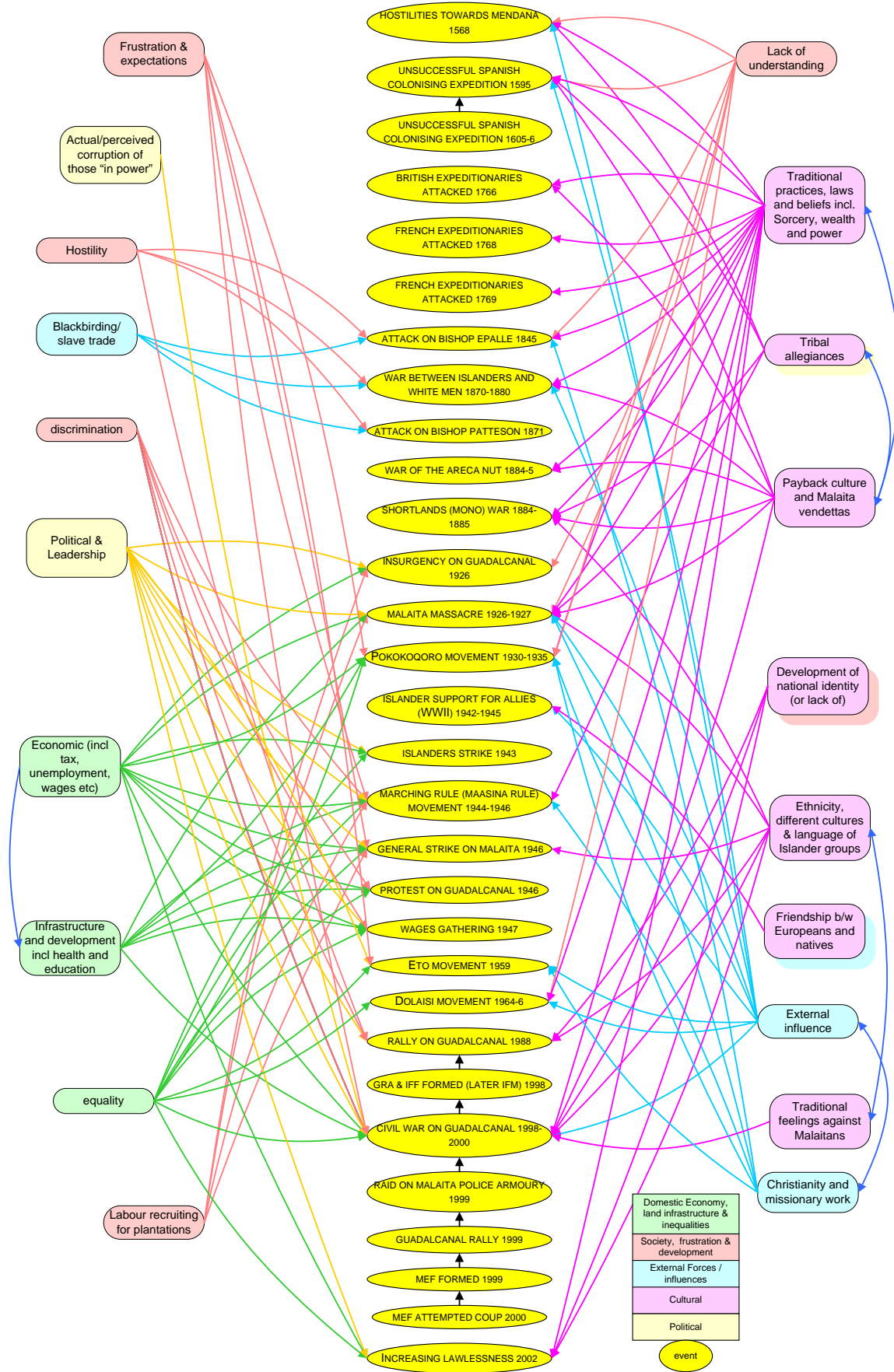


Appendix C: Events and Stimuli

C.1. Detailed Diagram of Stimuli and Events



C.2. Distilled Diagram of Stimuli and Events



C.3. Matrix of Stimulus Relationships

	frustration	expectations not met	corruption	exploitation	hostility	blackbirding	discrimination	political power	poor governance	authority	tax implementation	wages	economic	infrastructure etc.	unemployment	equality	labour recruiting	lack of understanding	traditional practices	sorcery	tribal allegiances	tribal law	vendetta murders	payback culture	traditional power & wealth	financial	national identity	shared culture	islander ethnicity	language	friendship	external	feelings against Malaitans	Christianity/missionary
frustration																																		
expectations not met																																		
corruption																																		
exploitation																																		
hostility																																		
blackbirding																																		
discrimination																																		
political power																																		
poor governance																																		
authority																																		
tax implementation																																		
wages																																		
economic																																		
infrastructure etc.																																		
unemployment																																		
equality																																		
labour recruiting																																		
lack of understanding																																		
traditional practices																																		
sorcery																																		
tribal allegiances																																		
tribal law																																		
vendetta murders																																		
payback culture																																		
traditional power & wealth																																		
financial																																		
national identity																																		
shared culture																																		
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language																																		
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19. ABSTRACT This study provides a baseline investigation for determining population reactions to stimuli in a historical context. Historical data analysis and qualititave data analysis techniques are applied to the last 500 years of events in the Solomon Islands. Links and trends between events and stimuli are produced giving a preliminary dataset for any future trends impact analysis. In addition some general population reactions for this country are established and a brief progressive regional comparison provided.									